Volume XCIII No. 2 October 9, 1970 40 cents

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THE MYTH OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION

Were primitive men really so religious? Are modern men really so secular?

Mary Douglas

CALIFORNIA'S AGRIBUSINESS
A.V. Krebs, Jr.

TITO & THE POPE *Matthew M. Mestrovic*

GOD & THE GOP *Lawrence T. King*

Also: THEOLOGO '70 *John Horgan* **THE STAGE** *Gerald Weales* **MARY DOUGLAS** *Peter Steinfels* **PAUL HORGAN** *Anne Fremantle*

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NEWS & VIEWS

CRS in Paraguay

Another storm, not unlike that which swirled around the official relief agency of the U.S. bishops in Vietnam because of its consortment with the established power bloc, may be engulfing Catholic Relief Services in Latin America.

The issue is the expanded role of CRS in Paraguay since the dictatorial regime of General Alfredo Stroessner cracked down on the operations of Caritas, the welfare agency of the bishops of Paraguay.

Stroessner, who doesn't take kindly to local organizations engaged in grassroots activities, imposed restrictions on Caritas at the height of last year's church-state tensions in Paraguay.

CRS stepped into the breach, and relief food supplies, which had been suspended since November, began moving again last July 22.

The food arrives in Paraguay as part of the Food for Peace program of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). Caritas was the distributor of that food; now CRS is.

Sources in Paraguay claim that, wittingly or unwittingly, CRS is thus playing into Stroessner hands by giving him the image of cooperating with the Catholic church, a strategic tactic in a country where Catholicism is the state religion.

The complication is that Stroessner and the church in Paraguay are at bitter odds. The Catholic church is the only institution in Paraguay strong enough to criticize publicly the 16-year-old dictatorship of Stroessner—and it does.

Not a few feel that CRS has been made a tool in that church-state tension. "The government is exploiting the situation," according to one Paraguayan, whom Latinamerica Press describes as highly informed. "It says it is getting along with the U.S. church, which is tolerant and understanding, while the Paraguayan church is subversive."

The director of Catholic Relief Services in South America, Msgr. Roland Bordelon, disagrees that CRS's role is indiscreet. "We feel that the very continuance of the CRS program, in cooperation with both church and government, has made a positive contribution in the context of the strained relationship," says Bordelon.

The point is debated in Paraguay. Many find it difficult to understand why CRS should have entangled itself in a knotty internal problem, when the Food for Peace program could have been continued by direct agreements between the U.S. and Paraguayan governments.

Bordelon's explanation is that "the Catholic bishops of Paraguay assured CRS formally of their express desire that we continue operations in their country, even outside Caritas."

"As a matter of fact," he adds, "the local Paraguayan church plays a major role in the implementation of the CRS program at the diocesan or regional levels."

The situation, nevertheless, puts CRS on a tightrope. As Latinamerica Press notes, either of the antagonists—Stroessner or the bishops—can ask CRS to leave. Although the church-state tension is calm at the moment, none of the problems which initiated it has been solved. The speculation within Paraguay is that the tensions will surface again. CRS could find itself smack in the middle.

Deexploiting Chile

It's easy to understand the nervousness of U.S. corporations, which have capital investments in Chile, over the prospect of a Marxist regime in Santiago with proclivities to nationalize foreign holdings.

Chile has been bonanza territory for American investment. In 1968, the return on all U.S. investment in Chile was 17.4 percent. This compares to an 11.8 percent return on Latin American investment as a whole, and a 6.7 percent return on European investment. Not bad.

The big killing has been in copper. In 1967, the earning ratio on capital invested in mining was 27.3 percent; in 1968, it was 26 percent.

The disordinate profit percentages should make almost any economic reprisal possible under Dr. Salvador Allende—and easily justifible.

Draft-Age Counselling

Despite lower draft calls, the number of young men needing information and counselling on the draft is not likely to decrease.

Accordingly a United Church of Christ pastor in Watertown, N.Y., has assembled for those responsible for counselling—ministers, priests, rabbis, college deans, high school guidance teachers—a packet which would seem to be an indispensable aid in the field.

The packet contains paperbacks, booklets, flyers and government forms, none of which take the place of a good draft counsellor or attorney, but which could help save many draft-age youths with conscientious objections to war from making serious mistakes.

Father John Sheerin of the *Catholic World* terms the packet "reliable and authoritative...a marvelous timesaver for the busy priest" or other counsellor.

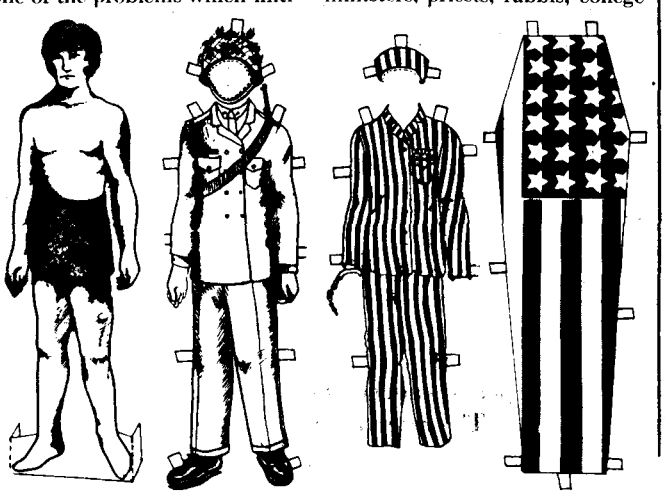
The packet is available at cost ($4.95) from Graham R. Hodges, P.O. Box 293, Watertown, N.Y., 13601

Odds and Ends

—The jocks have their unique prescriptions for saving the world. *Golf* magazine would rescue the American environment by building more golf courses and protecting new and old courses with subsidies and tax allowances. "When each course goes," says *Golf*, "America comes nine or 18 holes closer to becoming thousand-mile cities from sea to slimy sea."

—Senator Alan Cranston says that half of the 43,000 U.S. casualties in Vietnam "were not killed by front-line Vietcong or North Vietnamese troops. They were killed by South Vietnamese peasants—men, women and children—who planted mines and booby traps." The inference, according to *Washington Watch;* is that the South Vietnamese have become so outraged by indiscriminate bombings, defoliation of crop lands, and atrocities that they have set the booby traps. The *Pentagon is officially enigmatic* on the point. The AP, however, quotes "Pentagon sources" as confirming that as many as half the 43,000 American deaths in Vietnam may have resulted from booby-trap devices.

JOHN DEEDY



Up Against the Bulkhead LNS

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CORRESPONDENCE

Silent Majority, 'R.C.'

Indianapolis, Ind.

To the Editors: I've tried to follow Rosemary Ruether's ongoing evaluation of the Dan Berrigan phenomenon, the most recent being that in your Sept. 4 issue. Her gentle handling has kept me listening, but I always find I have more to dispute every time she fires another volley. What she says is analytically true, but in the order of doing as hopelessly romantic as the activity she accuses Dan of.

For example, her most recent contribution to *Commonweal* reflecting on Dan's Aug. 7 article. She speaks of the defect of his "radical personalism," contrasting it with the "objectivity" of the South American clergy who see their task in "socialist structural terms."

But that is South America. I suspect the American clergy, especially the American Catholic clergy don't or even can't think in terms of structural analysis, or their role in altering these structural defects. I've found very few American priests who are willing to "work for the revolution." If they see defects they are convinced that the good will of the bishops is all we need to set things right. The American priest is not a political animal; he's an individualist, serving other individuals who seek his service. He works poorly in association with his peers, particularly in pushing the local or national church or civil structures to change.

I speak from my own experience in organizing and trying to work with priests' associations, senates, committees, etc. If these efforts ever produce any results, it's to win concessions for the priests themselves but rarely altering radically authority and its administration. And therefore, those priests such as Berrigan or myself are tempted to "make a difference" by acting as an individual. It is ego-tripping, to be sure, but it's far better than doing nothing. Dan has kept the spark alive for many, and

(Continued on page 53)

NEWS & VIEWS: 34 **CORRESPONDENCE: 35**

EDITORIALS: 35

TITO & THE POPE: *Matthew M. Mestrovic* **36**
GOP AND GOD: *Lawrence T. King* **37**
THEOLOGO 70: *John Horgan* **39**
THE MYTH OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION: *Mary Douglas* **40**
AGRIBUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA: *A. V. Krebs, Jr.* **45**
THE STAGE: **47**
BOOKS: **49**

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1970 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.* *US and Canada, $12 a year. Foreign $14. Single copies 40¢*

'THE CRISIS OF VIOLENCE'

Judging from the sections widely reprinted so far, the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest is a workmanlike job, touching all bases, from Vietnam to the youth culture. Blame for the "crisis of violence" is apportioned on both sides of the "generation gap." The Commission takes a firm stand campus violence, at the same time as it makes a number of sensible practical suggestions, for law enforcement authorities (keep a low profile), for the President (end the war, promote reconciliation rather than rhetoric), for the university (loosen up structures, preserve independence, invite student participation), for the students (persuade, don't "drop out or strike out").

There are specific recommendations, emphases, even fundamental assumptions, of the Commission's report which might be questioned and debated. But the immediate issue is how the Administration will respond to the Commission's passionate appeal for a "national cease-fire" and its demand that "In the current political campaign and throughout the years ahead, the President should insist that no one play irresponsible politics with the issue of 'campus unrest.' " If the President, who appointed the Commission, does not head its words, there is little chance that the students, who did not appoint it, will heed them.

Even before the report was in, the Administration seemed bent on undermining it. In a speech at Kansas State University and in material sent from his office, Mr. Nixon insisted that the government's domestic and foreign policies could not be held responsible for student unrest. The President linked together "those who bomb universities, who ambush policemen, who hijack airplanes and hold their passengers hostage" in his condemnation. For one thing, to equate all forms of campus unrest with bombing is to simplify the problem all too handily. For another, students may find the President's list of atrocities to be noticeably select, avoiding any that might be closer to home, to the White House, that is *Washington Post* columnist Nicholas von Hoffman pointed out, in his usual direct manner, that what Nixon was decrying was limited to "free-lance" violence, "carried out by persons not commissioned by a duly authorized, 007-licensed state."

The reservation of violence to the state is generally accepted as a sign of

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human progress. To a point, anyway, and under certain conditions. Mr. Nixon himself put his finger on the problem when he said: "In a system that provides the means for peaceful change, no cause justifies violence in the name of change." It is precisely because militant blacks, student revolutionaries, Palestinian commandos, and, for that matter, Jordanian and Israeli army officers doubt that the systems they live within do provide means for peaceful change, that they finally depend on violence. Are the means for peaceful change genuinely provided in America? The President thinks so. His Commission thinks so. And certainly they are available to a greater extent than black and student militants believe. Yet there is something inherently dispiriting in the Commission's appeal to the very persons who share responsibility for creating and profiting from the present situation. Our national tradition suggests that change comes not from *noblesse oblige* but from the effective pressure of the opposition. And the opposition? Mr. Meany is playing golf with Secretaries Laird and Rogers. Mr. Humphrey capped a strong speech against liberal "permissiveness" toward "violence by the right or left" by reversing his previous support of gun-control laws. Mr. Muskie, and so many others are keeping silent. In any situation, violence is the riskiest way of causing change. In America today it is self-destructive. But our being against it won't make it stop. The nation has travelled too far along an unhappy path to escape sporadic outburts of violence from fanatics of the left or right. Whether those outbursts will be isolated or will infect a whole generation depends on whether the existence of "peaceful means of change" is overwhelmingly credible.

AT THE SYNOD

The 1971 World Synod of Bishops is almost exactly a year away, but the National Federation of Priests' Councils believes in getting its views on record early. The Synod is going to concern itself with the priesthood, and it should therefore have priest representatives at its meetings, said the NFPC. Offhand, this would not seem too far-fetched a request, but the ecclesiasts who arrange these affairs often operate by a logic of their own.

Although there are other crucial issues crying out for Synod attention, some of the broad possibilities of the priesthood as a Synod topic were outlined in a recent issue of *Priests-USA*, the National Federation of Priests' Councils News. One subject suggested for possible discussion, for example, was that of due process of law, a point increasingly urgent and sensitive as tensions mount in many areas between priests and their bishop. Celibacy too was cited as a necessary topic; the celibate state was praised, but "we want to go on record stating that priesthood is more important than celibacy, that the charism of celibacy could be temporary, that man is ordained to the priesthood, and if celibacy becomes an impossible burden he should be free to marry and remain a priest . . ." Another topic put forward was the utilization of married clergy and resignees: "We should find room in the church for those men who desire to serve the church as priests or in modified or allied roles."

What else should the Synod cover? "If time is short," said Father Frank Bonnike, president of the NFPC, "the Synod could very well make the priesthood its only topic." We don't go that far, but we do agree that priesthood

The Red and the Black

TITO & THE POPE

"The Pope, the undeclared ally of the nonaligned"; "We and the Vatican: A New Step"; "Casaroli: Open and sincere dialogue." These are random headlines of some of the articles that filled Yugoslav newspapers during August. The occasion for a veritable deluge of articles praising the Pope, his foreign minister, Archbishop Casaroli, the Curia and in general the Vatican's role in international politics, was the reestablishment of full diplomatic relations between Belgrade and the Vatican.

To judge from Yugoslav press comments the Pope seems to have become Tito's chief ally in world affairs. They hold (so claims the Zagreb *Vjesnik*) identical views on the Middle Eastern problem, the pacification of Vietnam, the importance of nonalignment, the role of the UN and on world peace. The Yugolsavs obviously expect that their cooperation with the Vatican, cemented by the August restoration of full diplomatic ties, will further advance when Tito visits the Pope at the Vatican during his scheduled state visit to Italy this fall. Whatever the merits of these expectations, it is certain that nowhere, except perhaps in the Vatican's own *Osservatore Romano*, are Pope Paul, and the Vatican Curia more wholeheartedly endorsed than they are in Yugoslavia's "Communist" press.

The seeming incongruity of this red and black alliance is due, let us hasten to explain, to what the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto called the persistence of *residues*. In this instance, the residue is the notion that Yugoslavia is still a Communist state, and that by the very definition of the term, it is precluded from closely allying itself with the Holy See. The fact is, of course, that Yugoslavia is "Communist" in the most formal sense of the term: it is ruled by a party which, for historic reasons, is called the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but which is no more "Communist" than the French Radical party is "radical." In fact, Yugoslav officials increasingly

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could obviously constitute a useful part of the program if the assembled Bishops went at it in the right way, and we certainly agree that priests should be represented in any such discussion. At the same time we'd like to add the obvious fact: no matter what topic the Synod takes up, whether the priesthood or whatever, nobody is more concerned with it than the laity, and the need for the laity to be represented at the Synod is as urgent as that of priests. No legislation without representation would be a good motto at this point, we say.

Abortion Makes Strange Bedfellows

GOP AND GOD

When parishoners showed up for Mass at St. Barbara's Church in Santa Ana, Calif., on the last Sunday in August, their curiosity was aroused by the presence of a battery of voting registrars seated at tables in front of the church. Their curiosity was soon satisfied. During the homily, it was explained that the registrars had been sent

tend to avoid using the term "Communist" when speaking of the system prevailing in Yugoslavia. They prefer to define its essence as workers' self-management, under which the producers are supposed to control the means of production and workers are paid according to their productivity.

Cooperation with the Vatican seems eminently logical to Tito because such cooperation is expected to advance Yugoslavia's primary interests, which are not to promote materialistic philosophy or even a classless world order, but to consolidate Yugoslavia as a state, to assure its territorial integrity and enhance its role among the nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia. All these objectives, so Belgrade believes, are served by its ties with the Vatican.

Church-state cooperation works best at the top, in contacts between the Papal Pro-Nuncio Cagna and Yugoslavia's Foreign Minister Tepavac and between the Catholic hierarchy and top state officials in Belgrade and in Zagreb, the capital of the Croat republic, where a substantial portion of the Yugoslav Catholics live. In Croatia, actually, over the past two years, there has evolved what is in effect an informal alliance between the Croat Communist Central Committee and the Croat bishops. On the local level, and in so far as the daily pastoral activities of the church are concerned, the alliance works less satisfactorily. For instance, as Zagreb's newly named Archbishop Franjo Kuharic points out, a large portion of the city's people are deprived of contacts with the church. One reason is that the church finds it extremely difficult, if at all possible, to build churches or even chapels in the new urban developments, where a growing percentage of the urban dwellers live without the possibility of going to Mass or finding a priest in their neighborhood.

Ironically some of the church's present problems are the result of the almost complete disintegration of Communism as a relevant ideology and the resulting upsurge of nationalism among the party leaders of the several republics that constitute Yugoslavia. As the Croat and Slovene Communist leaders have become more outspokenly nationalist in their policies and the writings of the government press, some of the nationalist support has shifted from the church to the party leadership. This, plus the effect of the spread of radical Catholic thinking, coming chiefly from the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, has caused some ebbing in popular support for the church. The circulation of the *Glas Koncila*, the chief Catholic newspaper, is down by about 15 percent to 170,000 copies over the past year. The number of youths entering some of the seminaries is down an alarming 40 percent this fall. Similarly, Catholic sources estimate, that only about 15 percent of the Catholics in Zagreb attend Mass regularly. At the same time the number of unbaptized children and exclusively civil marriages is on the upsurge.

And yet, despite the problems that have come with the cessation of persecution and the ushering in of close political cooperation between church and state, the church has derived important advantages from the arrangement, in terms of a revitalized organization, a freedom of movement and expression for the clergy, and the possibility of pastoral activity through mass media. And compared to the League of Communists, the church is still doing exceedingly well as a relevant faith of a substantial portion of the population.

Though church attendance may be low, and many children remain unbaptized, interest in the substance of religion is on the rise among the educated youths. At Zagreb University, two-thirds of the students are ideologically totally indifferent, while an estimated 30 percent are under the strong influence of Christian social and religious thinking. In so far as there are Communists at all among the students, and they are estimated to constitute no more than 5 percent of the total, they are adherents of revolutionary Maoism and Castroism, and in that sense are more suspect as far as the leadership of the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia is concerned than are the Catholic-oriented students. *Matthew M. Mestrovic*

(Matthew M. Mestrovic, a member of the faculty at Fairleigh Dickinson University, recently returned from an extended stay in Europe.)

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there at the request of the pastor who was asking all Democratic members of the congregation to join him after Mass in changing their registration to Republican to protest the adoption of an "abortion on demand" plank at the California Democratic convention. By the time the last Mass was over and the registrars had folded up their tables to call it a day, 530 members of the parish had changed their political affiliation.

To the pastor, the Rev. Michael Collins, the move was the most effective means he could think of to let the state s politicians know how deeply Catholics felt about "legalizing murder." To Edmund G. Brown Jr., the former governor's son who is the Democratic candidate for California secretary of state, it was a "cheap political trick" on the part of the Republican State Central Committee to win over Catholic Democratic voters on the abortion issue.

According to Brown, the incident at St. Barbara's disturbed him to such an extent that he investigated the matter and found out that registrars had been requested at 14 of Orange County's 29 Catholic churches for the following Sunday. Further investigation revealed, he said, that the St. Barbara's incident was not a spontaneous movement, as it had been represented, but the start of a political experiment engineered by the Republican State Central Committee to see if the abortion issue could be used to cause a mass defection of Catholics from the Democratic Party. The Democratic candidates said the experiment was being watched closely by national Republican leaders and if it proved successful it would be used as part of a nationwide campaign to attract Catholic voters.

The day before the re-registration drive was scheduled at the Orange County churches, Brown called a news conference to present the result of his investigations to the news media. When challenged by reporters to substantiate his charges, Brown said, "A personal friend of mine, a member of the State Republican Committee, told me of their plan. He is a Catholic and very upset about this plan to use Catholics as political guinea pigs."

He then named the Republican chairman for Orange County, who received the requests for dispatch of registrars, and a woman employee of the county committee office whose job it was, he said, to contact priests throughout the county on the abortion issue and tell them how to set up re-registration drives.

When contacted by newsmen, Father Collins, the county chairman and his staff worker all denied the charges. The county chairman was quoted as saying: "The re-registration drive has not been *our* initiative. We've had many requests for registrars from various churches and it's our responsibility to get registrars to them when they ask. We have not *overtly* campaigned for voters to switch to the Republican Party on the basis of this issue." (Italics added.)

In California, registrars are quite obliging. They will set up their tables and bring their registration books to any place where people are wont to gather, but when they show up in force at 14 churches on a given Sunday and when their primary objective is not the enrollment of new voters but changing the party affiliation of old voters, then there certainly is legitimate grounds for doubting that the whole thing is a "spontaneous reaction."

Party platforms on the state level — especially in California —are an archaic holdover from another age, and few politicians take them seriously. In fact, at a recent "meet the candidate" program in San Diego, not a single candidate queried by this writer could enumerate the principal points of his state party's platform and there were a few who admitted that they did not know that such a platform existed. Candidates in California run on their own records, and to label one party as "pro-abortion" and another as "anti-abortion" is the ultimate in political naivete.

At his press conference, Brown found it necessary to say: "Abortion is contrary to my personal beliefs, and I am a Democrat. Many other Democrats share my strong opposition to abortion. I strongly resent this attempt by the Republican bosses to portray all Democratic candidates as favoring unlimited abortions. It is ridiculous."

Since abortion has become a heated political issue in American life, no one can rightfully object to efforts by individuals and groups — this includes the Catholic church — to oppose candidates who favor the removal of all legal restraints on abortion. Candidates must be willing to face the electorate on this issue as well as any other issue. It is quite another thing, however, to take a scattergun approach and make a party issue out of something that is essentially bipartisan.

If the pastors of those Orange County churches had done their homework properly, they would have known that the abortion law that was passed in 1967 was a bipartisan measure. It was introduced by a Democratic state senator and a Republican assemblyman. In the state Senate, 21 votes were needed for passage of the legislation and that is exactly how many votes it received. (Seventeen votes were cast against it.) Twelve Democrats and nine Republicans voted for the measure and seven Democrats and ten Republicans voted against it. How bipartisan can you get? Furthermore, the legislation was signed into law by Republican Gov. Ronald Reagan, despite his knowledge that the Senate could not muster the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto.

Facts such as these might be pondered by pastors in their consideration of political implications of the abortion issue. It will help them in the future in dealing with partisan political workers whose interest in morality is secondary to their interest in winning over Catholic voters as a key tactic in the creation of what they like to call the "emerging Republican majority" (after the book of the same name).

Lawrence T. King

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THEOLOGO '70

JOHN HORGAN

About halfway through the Concilium theological congress on "The Future of the Church" in Brussels during September an eager British newsman, in a last and possibly desperate attempt to glean anything from the congress which would be even remotely intelligible to his mass-circulation audience, asked Gregory Baum what the church thought of rock festivals. "Our Lord said, 'On this rock I shall build my church,'" replied Gregory. It was the most concrete, and not necessarily the most misleading, statement of the week.

Despite the optimism of Edward Schillebeeckx and Hans Kung, despite the resolution (or "proposition" as it was subsequently described) in favor of the Berrigan brothers and other militant Christians, despite wide support for a democratization of church structures and a tidying-up of church finances, and despite the frequent materializations of Cardinal Suenens, the conference was basically a mess. There were times when it was a happy and even a productive mess, and these were the best of times. But there were also moments when it seemed as if the members of the board of *Concilium* were determined to demonstrate that the Curia did not have a monopoly of stupidity or of obstinacy, and these were the worst of times.

The cry of manipulation was raised early in the proceedings as the 200-odd participants found themselves confronted with a huge list of 28 propositions prepared in advance and on which they were expected to vote. The comparison with the situation at the beginning of Vatican II was voiced loudly and plaintively.

In addition, the congress was seriously unrepresentative. There were ecclesial as well as financial reasons for this: few of the "Roman" theologians accepted the invitations proferred to them; and Third World participation was seriously limited by travel and subsistence costs. The participants were 90 per cent European, and about 95 per cent Catholic. Orthodoxy was barely represented, and there were very few women present.

The greatest absence, however, was of a theology which had something really important and concrete to say about the church in the world of the future (an early, and unlamented casualty of the congress was the idea that 'church' and 'world' could somehow be talked about in separate compartments). Two of the most burning contemporary theological problems — that of ministry and celibacy, and that of violence and revolution — remained almost completely unexamined as the schedule ground remorselessly on. It was the flatness of the surrounding countryside, as much as anything else, which brought the 'political theology' of John Baptist Metz into such sharp relief, and which made the resolution associated with his name, advocating more political engagement on the part of the churches, one of the few "official" resolutions to evoke genuine enthusiasm at the final plenary session.

The "supplementary" resolutions, introduced under congress standing orders by at least 30 participants (in practice, by a group headed by Fr. Francois Houtart and Fr. Jean Thill, a Louvain chaplain) received a surprising amount of support, not least the pre-Berrigan one. But the hairsbreadth failure to accord a two-thirds majority vote to a really sharp resolution criticizing the church for its inhumane procedures and lack of respect for personal rights — it was the only resolution out of sixteen which failed to gain acceptance — depressed many participants and observers. Once again, it seemed as if theological radicalism was being exercised only in areas in which the concrete results of radicalism are minimal.

What is theological radicalism nowadays, anyway? As the congress struggled along through its procedural confusion, it was possible to see as wide a gap opening as had ever existed at the Council. Schillebeeckx, Rahner, and even Kung were seen to be much closer to a man like Congar than to a brash trio like Vergote, Baum and Metz, who between them provided the congress its one really exciting day.

At the risk of over-simplification, the differences between them can be stated roughly as follows. For the older men, the church, as such, is still normative, is still the point of departure. There are, of course, men of goodwill, with whom all Catholics are morally bound to cooperate. But the church, defined by baptism, creed, liturgy and structure, is still in many ways the center of attention and concern. The younger men, on the other hand, have not quite decided what to do with the church, whose usefulness seems to them to be in need of a radical re-interpretation. They are, if anything, leaning towards a new kind of functionalism in which it is increasingly difficult to draw the line between church and non-church, much less between practicing and non-practicing. The line is now being drawn more between people whose lives are patently devoted to the advance of the Kingdom, whether explicitly or not, and those — inside as well as outside the church — who either oppose this process or are too lazy to further it.

Jean-Pierre Jossua, the brillant young French Dominican theologian, set a major question mark against the *raison d'etre* of the whole congress when he suggested that the theologians whom no ecclesial net would catch — Bergson, Simone Weil and many others — were the people whose charisms the church needed now more than anything else. Can the same question mark be set against the church as a whole? In other words, who are "the faithful"? This was the question that Brussels barely began to articulate.

John Horgan

(John Horgan is a member of the staff of the Irish Times.)

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HOW BACK IS THE BACKLASH?

PETER STEINFELS

FOR over six years, American elections have taken place under the sign of the "backlash." The term indicated that voters who for economic reasons or traditional ties had supported liberal Democrats and thus indirectly the causes of civil rights and the propagation of a liberal philosophy of government, were now turning away from liberal Democrats, if not from the Democratic party altogether.

On occasion after occasion (though not on *every* occasion), the backlash turned out to be less severe than predicted. One can go all the way back to the McCarthy era, or simply back to the last presidential race, to find prognostications of a "plebian revolt," a populist turn toward the right. When the returns were in, the plebians held firmer than expected, and the "turn" toward the right appeared to have taken place in traditional conservative territory. Even today, it is not clear that those audiences cheering Agnew at $100-a-plate GOP dinners are indeed the same working-class ethnics who are supposed to be "backlashing."

It would be foolish to ignore the backlash danger simply because it has been exaggerated before: evidence suggests that the phenomenon is building up. But the record of past miscalculations at least tempts one to look twice and to look carefully. Exactly how back is the backlash?

Writing in the September issue of *Transaction* magazine, Amitai Etzioni (who makes his second guest appearance here in as many weeks) plucks from a myriad of public opinion polls the following conclusions:

"The United States has never had a liberal majority — not, at least, since polling was begun . . .

"The recent shift to the Right is rather moderate in proportions . . . (and) unlikely to extend itself significantly — a reversal of the trend may well set in within three to five years . . .

"The 'Silent Majority' is not at this moment a conservative monolith but a conglomerate of various publics, quite divergent, the majority of which . . . favor most liberal programs . . ."

The data Etzioni cites indicate that about 6 percent of the public has swung to the right. The backlash is sharply focused, "found primarily in attitudes toward the blacks and towards some of the youth." But other liberal programs, both foreign and domestic, maintain their popularity — at the same time that a great number of Americans continue to "subscribe to conservative principles, philosophies and cliches." What Etzioni calls "the most conclusive study on the subject" shows that "two-thirds (65 percent) of a national sample favored liberal programs; only an eighth (14 percent) took an opposing position, while 21 percent were middle-of-the-roaders. However, on the ideological front, the liberal philosophy won the support of only 16 percent, while the conservative polled 50 percent (with 34 percent falling in the middle)."

The poll game, of course, is a dangerous one, but certain recent findings deserve to be mentioned along with Etzioni's article. One is the Harris poll on public confidence in President Nixon. The public's confidence in Nixon personally has reached its lowest level to date, with only 35 percent believing the President inspires confidence in the White House. (Johnson went as low as 23 percent.) Only on his "efforts to achieve peace in the world" does Nixon get over 50 percent approval. Even at that, larger percentages rate Nixon negatively than positively on his handling of Cambodia, Vietnam and the Middle East. In the areas of race relations, student protesters and anti-war protesters (where opposition could come from some hard-liners as well), he has the approval of only between 30 and 25 percent of the public; only *19 percent* assessed his efforts to keep down the cost of living positively; 79 percent were unhappy with them.

To be matched with those figures are the results of a Gallup poll showing that the Hatfield-McGovern plan of withdrawing troops from Vietnam by the end of 1971 — a measure roundly denounced as "irresponsible" by both the Administration and numerous editorialists — is backed by 55 percent of the public, opposed by only 36 percent. Interestingly enough, people over 50 as well as people with only a grade school education were among the groups giving this plan the highest percentages of support. (A Harris poll on our space program brought in similar results: the aged and the working class, taking education as an indicator, were the most likely to think the money should be spent elsewhere.)

In short, the politician who wants to withstand the backlash rather than surrender to it has plenty of material with which to build. The recent primary victories of several liberal challengers over entrenched incumbents suggest the same thing.

But determining what issues will be in the center of the political arena cannot be left to the President and Mr. Agnew. Neither can the effort to provide a persuasive philosophy of social responsibility to back up the liberal programs with which the public already sympathizes. Fighting the backlash may require some courage; the struggle is not, however, quixotic.

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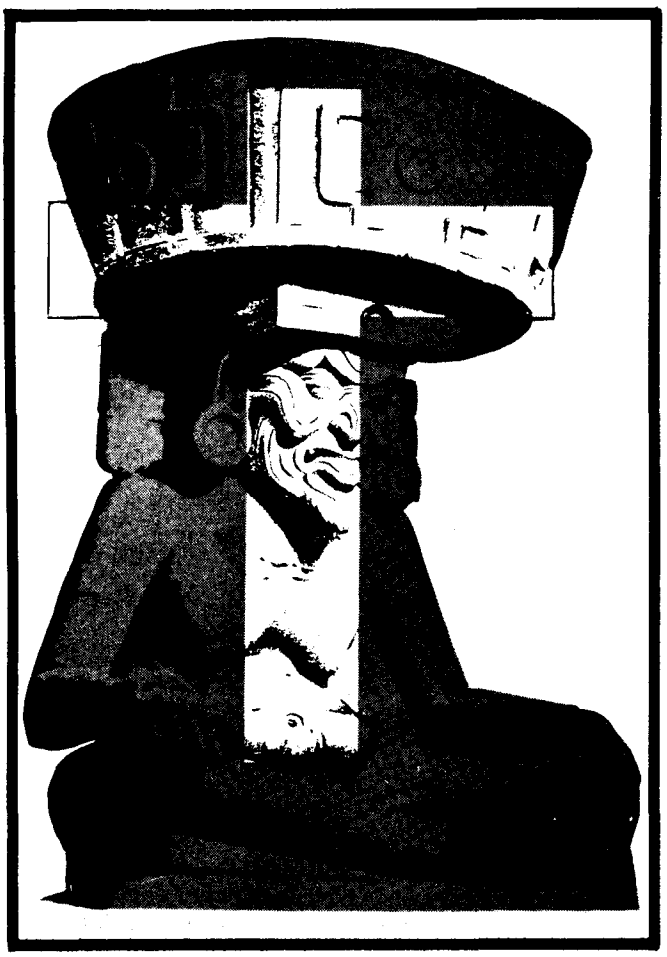

When We Look More Closely We Find Plenty of Secular Savages

THE MYTH OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION

Mary Douglas

In the 19th century the heathen was thought to be sunk in darkness. Now there is a widespread idea that primitive peoples are and always have been religious. Sometimes the religious form is thought to be highly magical. Sometimes it is supposed to be ecstatic. But it seems to be an important premise of popular thinking about us, the civilized, and them, the primitives, that we are secular, skeptical and frankly tending more and more away from religious belief, and that they are religious. No discipline can hope to keep control over the popular uses of its work. But every now and again its assumptions need to be checked, not so much for the sake of the general public, who will always do what they like, but for the sake of the discipline itself.

Anthropologists are the specialists who provide assumptions about primitive cultures. They should ask themselves how much longer they are prepared to underprop unthinkingly the popular notion of primitive piety. When we look more closely at our information we find plenty of secular savages. Indeed, in certain tribal places there is a notable lack of interest in the supernatural. God is not suddenly dead with Western civilization. Science has not delivered the *coup de grace*. Anthropologists should really think twice before they subscribe to this particular fantasy about the difference between Us and Them.

In my childhood, Sunday school and the Catholic Truth Society had modified the earlier idea of heathenism. Primitive man was said to be religious in his own way. Just as ethologists nowadays seek to discover something about our basic human nature by studying other primates, so these teachers argued that if primitive man is religious, this is proof that modern irreligion fails to meet the requirements of our nature.

The late Reverend Professor Wilhelm Schmidt developed an extreme form of this line of reasoning. Tribal religions, he admitted, are not exactly monotheistic, but they show signs of having lost an earlier revelation closer to that of primitive Christianity. Like comparative philology at the same period, he saw the work of comparative religion as an unravelling of clues about the parent stock from which religious beliefs had evolved. And he certainly thought that the outcome would be encouraging for Christians in general and missionaries in particular.

At a later stage of education, a shock awaited those brought up with primitive piety as a plank in the platform of their religious convictions. For it soon emerged that the very same idea was a plank in the counter-propaganda of rationalists. Frazer's *Golden Bough* suggested that the mere primitiveness of religious belief proves it is destined to be left behind on the march to civilization, along with other relics of savagery. For anyone interested enough to turn to the specialists to resolve the question, a further surprise was in store.

Anthropologists of the last quarter of a century seemed all set to show that primitives are religious and that their beliefs have a positive role in sustaining their society. Indeed, so far was the Sunday-school approach vindicated and developed that doubts were aired about how modern industrial society could hold the moral commitment of its members without religious symbols and dogmas. Voltaire's proposition about God's existence took a new form: if true religion does not exist, we may have to invent one.

In this spirit, several rationalist anthropologists of that generation experimented hopefully with movements to

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establish godless churches. Now the more existentialist theologians themselves are playing with the idea of churchless religions. But still the basic idea that primitives are religious sustains both sides of the argument. No one has any axe to grind in unearthing infidels with no faith of their own. No one is going to bother to contradict the following statement under the heading "Africa" in the illustrated encyclopedia of the supernatural, *Man, Myth and Magic:*

"The African, surrounded from birth by all the wonders and terrors of nature, logically pays more heed to sun, rain, storms, rivers and animals than we do, as these objects are his immediate friends and enemies. From the dawn of time primitive man discovered objects of reverence and fear all round him. The former had to be thanked; the latter placated. This was the origin of all religious activity and remains the cardinal principle of African paganism . . . Nature worship, then, is perhaps the most significant aspect of African paganism, and it is found in a hundred different forms throught the continent."

In my opinion it is less accurate to say that most Africans are nature-worshippers than to say that most London journalists are Greek Orthodox.

Here the problem of definition arises. Any one definition of religion will apply to a number of examples. But no one definition of religion will apply to all tribal societies in such a way as to show them all to be religious. This has helped to cloud the issue. You can take your choice of definition, but everyone is convinced in advance of universal primitive religiousness, and if they all choose their own definitions, there is no debate.

Most anthropologists will follow Tylor in defining religion as a belief in spiritual beings. Durkheim rejected this as neither inclusive nor exclusive enough. It includes hobgoblins, poltergeists and fairies, excludes the theology of Buddhism, and still does not bring within its scope those aspects of religion considered central in the alternative definitions.

Belief in spirits, as a definition, would seem only to recommend itself to specialists mainly concerned with setting and marking precise examination questions. Some philosphers, such as T.H. Green, felt the essence of religion was its ethical meaning. Matthew Arnold added "morality tinged with emotion." Many theologians find the emotional aspect the dominant one, and follow Rudolph Otto in basing religion on a special kind of feeling, the sense of awe and terror in the face of the numinous.

Others reckon themselves to be religious without being sure that they have ever experienced this feeling. Others again, such as Peter Berger, try to combine the sense of sacred awe with the definition of religion as an all-embracing explanatory system. Luckman uses the comprehensiveness of the explanatory system as the critical distinction between religious and other beliefs which are only partial in their scope.

This last approach, which I find very serviceable, allows us to forget about subjective emotions and the fact that some religions have very little to say about spiritual beings, and that much of what is believed about spiritual beings has little to do with religion. The person without religion would be the person content to do without explanations of certain kinds, or content to behave in society without a single unifying principle validating the social order. Our original problem would be put more clearly if we were to ask whether tribal societies sustain their social reality by creating all-embracing universes of meaning, or whether there are not some which get along with partial systems of explanation, and large areas of experience left unexplained and unjustified.

The next question is to ask whether this last possibility is ever considered, and here we are up against the problem of evidence. What would be valid evidence strong enough to challenge such a deeply entrenched paradigm? To use paradigm (T.S. Kuhn's expression for a set of scientific assumptions based on a crucial well-established piece of research) relates this matter clearly to the history and philosophy of science, where I believe it is relevant.

In some intellectual atmospheres the negative case rates as a rich and exciting discovery. Researchers and funds are poured in to exploit its meaning. But just imagine the anthropologist who, fresh home from the field, announces: "My tribe hasn't got any religion." There ought to be a Bateman cartoon to illustrate the dropped spectacles and raised eyebrows and the sense of horrid solecism. No one has interest in the news except to pass a harsh verdict on the man's fieldwork.

Pity the poor anthropologist who expected his fieldwork to yield the usual interesting information on ritual symbolism. If he comes home without it, his monograph will lack its crowning chapter. Knowing this only too well while he is in the field, he works towards a nervous collapse or an angry showdown with his hosts, whom he suspects of holding out on him. How can he be sure that his fieldwork is not at fault, or that their disinclination to reveal their religion is not due to secretiveness or deep reserve? Will it be a matter of time? Madame Dieterlen said the Dogon only opened up after seven years of intense inquiry and that it took 20 years to get the full story.

If the anthropologist is in a hurry with his career, he cannot be blamed for turning to another problem, land tenure or politics. On this he soon becomes so much an expert that he never has time again to research into primitive religion. Thus unintentionally is a professional bias established. And thus is an interesting subject rendered sterile.

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Let me here give a few examples which have actually been published. First, for the supposed inherent relation between religion and morality: there are primitives who can be religious without being moral and moral without being religious. Ralph Barton described a thoroughly mercenary, unscrupulous, unspiritual set of dealings between gods and men among the Ifugao of the Philippines. In their everyday life the Ifugao regard power of any sort as an opportunity for extortion, and the same ideas about bribery and corruption appear in their ideas of the supernatural world. When I first read this, as a student of anthropology, I rejected Barton as a superficial, ignorant, even prejudiced observer. But to sustain this judgment would entail drawing an arbitary line between this and his highly perceptive observation of every other aspect of these people's lives. He was a brilliant field-worker.

Fredrik Barth gives an account of a tribe of Persian nomads who are so lacking in religious feeling that any priest in a smart London parish would find his own congregation fervent by comparison. These Basseri nomads are nominal Moslems. They see themselves as slack in the practice of their religion, generally uninterested in religion as preached by occasional mullahs and quite indifferent to metaphysical problems. Though they neglect Moslem prayers, they use the Moslem calendar like an *Old Moore's Almanac*, as an index of future good or bad luck, and the extent of their respect for Friday observance is to fear bad luck if they should drive a herd on that day of the week.

Barth illustrates my general point in another way. He is obviously very worried about the possible judgment on the quality of his fieldwork that this missing chapter on ritual symbols may provoke. So he writes a detailed appendix in order to provide evidence of the thoroughness of his investigation and the sensitivity of his awareness

Conversion?

It could be argued, along Father Schmidt's lines, that these tribes have been converted away from their original beliefs by Moslem missionaries. Somewhere in their primitive past they may have had their own rich system of religious beliefs. Their present state is a result of the march of civilization — in other words, we can get bogged down in a quibble about the word "primitive," if we are really determined not to open up the subject.

All right, then: what about Godfrey Lienhardt's report that the Anuak, in the heart of the Sudan, pay little or no cult to their god? Their only ritual practitioner is a witch finder, their main concern to protect themselves from vengeful ghosts and malicious witches. Here the editor of *Man, Myth and Magic* would point out that I have omitted the definition of religion which would obviously include witchcraft and magic. As editor, Richard Cavendish writes in his introduction that "Supernatural is a convenient word for a huge area of human speculation about things believed to exist beyond the threshold of our ordinary everyday existence, our normal trudging journey from birth to death."

But most tribal societies which believe in ancestral ghosts and magic spells regard them as part of their ordinary day-to-day existence. Philosophers would be taxed to identify the supernatural in other cultures which do not make our traditional set of distinctions enclosing the concept of the natural.

If the definition of religion were to be based on magic beliefs and if these are defined, as surely they must be, as belief in the efficacy of symbol, hardly a doctor in general practice, still less in specialist consultation, would escape the title of magician. It would be hard to argue that religious faith is strong in a people who only believe that their enemies are using magic techniques against them, and that their experts have counter-remedies.

Magic spells may be part of an all-embracing system of explanation. Or they may often be a technology, recipes for success, empirically tried and rejected when they fail. This is how the Garia of Madang District on the north coast of New Guinea use their magic spells, with a thoroughly modern-sounding pragmatism. Peter Lawrence says there is no moral feedback in their cosmological system, no reward for virtue or punishment for wrong.

He writes, with a little note of surprise, that for them "spiritual values such as purity and sin were non-existent. There was no idea of rewards in the next world in return for good works or of separate destinations for 'good' and 'bad.' The affairs of the dead automatically regulated themselves. Even the initiatory taboos had no abstract ethical meaning . . . spatially the cosmos was conceived as a unified physical realm with virtually no supernatural attributes, in which human beings reacted not only with each other but also with deities, spirits and totems." He goes on to describe their culture as one which glorifies personal success and where the only offence is that of failure.

Once the question has reached the surface of our attention, the credibility of these reports is obvious. Dozens of other reports of secular-minded primitives must be checked, odd conversations and unpublished memoirs. Missionaries who claim that their converts formerly lacked religious faith need not be suspected for that mere reason of less reliable knowledge than those who respect the faiths they seek to overthrow. If it be accepted that tribal societies display as much variety as we in their religious propensities, the really interesting questions arise.

It is hard to accept the full implications. For one, we must question the assumption that tribal religions are static and hidebound. The variety implies fluidity. At the professional level this poses tricky questions of interpretation for anthropologists. They cannot suppose

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that tribal social structures have not been developing, simplifying, growing more complex in one direction or another, switching between formality and informality as migrations and changes of dynasty involve other changes. Since the anthropologists expect to find some degree of fit between religious beliefs and the institutions they sustain, they are committed to supposing religious revolutions have been continually taking place. So the tension between ritualism of established authority and enthusiasm from the outlying borders of society, the dynamic of religious reform in European history, must have its counterpart in the unwritten history of any primitive tribe.

They, too, will have had their Protestant ethic, their Shakers and Quakers and anti-sacerdotal movements. They will also have had their periods of skepticism and secularism. Why not? A modern study of comparative religion must do away equally with the notion of the global primitive and with the notion of the fixity of tribal beliefs.

In *The Secular City*, Harvey Cox makes the claim that the ancient Israelites were the first to secularize their religion. By "secularize" he understands the detachment of God from nature, a de-localizing of holiness from particular persons, things and places, bringing God into history. A secular God is as mobile and all pervasive as the wandering people He had chosen. This view, subtly argued, is used to justify a new de-sacralization of holy places and things in the modern city, where man is as mobile as any nomad.

But the message of my argument is less reassuring for the success of new interpretations of Christian belief. I would argue that there are different kinds of mobility and that different theological trends go with them. For the unattached, competitive individualism of modern industrial man the parallel is not the highly structured Israelite tribe in the desert. Each tribe moved as a unit and belonged in a clear overall pattern including them all. Modern mobility is far more obviously like the competitive individualism of some New Guinea tribes and some Persian nomads.

And the religious tendencies of these latter peoples are secular in a very common sense of the word: they are not interested in metaphysical speculation or union with the source of all being. You can sell them formulas for achieving personal success or warding off bad luck. But that is not the end of it for the comparison with primitive forms of piety.

Just as tribes are mobile in different ways, so are we. Our kinds of mobility are vastly various. The upward and outward movement of the young executive who leaves his local suburb and travels in ever-widening circles on international airlines is utterly different from the rootless and unattached mobility of the urban proletariat. A serious comparative religion would identify counterparts in this dimension of social relations and go on to classify forms of piety and impiety.

Here we are, in a period in which popular interest in religion is as lively as it has ever been. There is not only interest in occultism, but frank enjoyment of symbolic forms as such. The Missa Luba provided the background music to *If*; the middle act of *The Silver Tassie* at the Aldwych was impressively rendered in plain chant; *Easy Rider* combines sex movingly with rosary and requiem in a New Orleans cemetery; Andy Warhol mixes a well-intoned Kyrie with naked seduction in *Lonesome Cowboys*. The Bread and Puppets Theatre and mystery plays of last summer drew more seriously on religious symbols.

Anthropologists, worrying about how to attract research funds, may not be necessarily right in assuming that every project has to show some pay-off in the field of economic development. They are in the same case as Catholic theologians who try to justify religion by its role in the war on poverty and dare not suppose that a certain expertise in symbolic matters will have its own pay-off. If anthropologists are to learn from this popular, half-conscious cogitation on the symbolic life, this regurgitation, both mocking and wistful, of the symbols of the Christian heritage, their first step must be to ditch the myth of the pious primitive.

Then, questions smothered by the heavy hand of functionalism could be revived again. Inevitably most fieldwork will suddenly become out of date. If it has been asking questions and setting up taxonomies that have nothing to do with ourselves, it is probably due for overhaul anyway.

A silence lies between anthropology and the history of religion. The first asserts that religious systems sustain social structures and that social structures sustain beliefs. Historians, if they want to apply these notions, ask what kind of social structures go with what kinds of religious ideas. The anthropologist can start to answer in terms of local and esoteric typologies. There are classifications of ancestor cults, nativistic movements or witchcraft beliefs. But so far we lack a way of relating our materials to the European experience. Unless we can think of tribes as secular, or given to mystery cults, dualist philosophies, or heterodoxies about the nature of grace and godhead, the questions that have unleashed historic wars and mass executions, we have hardly begun the anthropology of religion.

Fredrik Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: the Basseri tribe*.

Ralph Barton, "The religion of the Ifugaos" (*American Anthropologist*, vol 48, No. 4, 1946)

Peter L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion*.

T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

Peter Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo: a study of the Cargo Movement in South Madang District, New Guinea*.

Godfrey Lienhardt, "The situation of death: an aspect of Anuak philosophy" (*Anthropological Quarterly*, vol 35, No. 2, 1962)

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HOW A POWERFUL ELITE GROWS RICHER OFF THE TAX BURDEN OF THE LOWER AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES

AGRIBUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA

A.V. KREBS, JR.

No class of people or type of worker has been more thoroughly exposed to the raw corporate power of the Western world's capitalist system than California's nearly three-quarter million farm workers. From literally the day before the state joined the Union, through a combination of massive land grabs, violence, foreign exploitation, state and federally subsidized water, political intrigue, abundant amounts of money from the world's largest bank, an almost free and unlimited use of the University of California's research facilities, the frequent ignoring of state and federal laws, and the huge growing, processing and packaging conglomerates with their interconnecting directorates who control a vertically integrated flow of food from the field to the table, California's agribusiness has grown wealthier and more powerful.

At present, California leads the nation in total cash farm income with a figure slightly over $4 billion. It grows 40 percent of the nation's vegetables, fruits and nut crops. It raises 90-100 percent of the total U.S. production in 15 crops, including 92 percent of the grapes, which is its seventh-largest cash crop. By the time the 200 commercial crops are harvested, transported, processed and packaged, their market value reaches some $16 billion. One out of every three jobs in California is dependent on agriculture or a closely related industry. Despite its omnipotent power this giant agribusiness superstructure still rests largely on the backs of hundreds of thousands of men and women who tend and harvest the state's bountiful crops. Strongly backed by the Catholic Bishops' Committee, the increasingly successful efforts of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) to win for themselves not only recognition and collective bargaining rights from Delano's stubborn growers, but to get a recalcitrant Congress to extend National Labor Relations Act coverage (free of the encumbering restrictive amendments added by Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin) to the nation's 3.1 million farm workers is but one aspect of a new agrarian revolution. What is also happening is that for the first time minority groups, students, liberals, and a lot of just ordinary taxpaying citizens are beginning to see just how "free" the Free Enterprise system has become, and how a powerful elite in California are growing richer off the state's lower- and middle-classes' increasing tax burden.

While the homeowner's property taxes throughout the state soar as the cost of city services — from police protection to welfare — increase, these same taxpayers have in many communities begun to make such essentials as school and education costs the victim of their rebellion. Meanwhile they ignore the fact that sizable portions of their tax dollar are paying for huge irrigation systems and water and for much of the highway transportation system used by agribusiness in California to earn for the industry millions of dollars in profit. California's taxpaying citizens are also being required to pay for the social services (an estimated $15 million a year for the rural poor alone) required by thousands of people who have been brought into the state as cheap labor by agricultural employers to work for short periods of time in the fields and then dumped like garbage into the large urban centers such as Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area.

At the apex of the agribusiness superstructure is the Bank of America, which finances over 50 percent of the state's agriculture. In a November, 1968 speech to the California Canners and Growers, Rudolph A. Peterson, the bank's president, outlined what he termed "a new national agricultural policy."

"Why is a banker talking about agricultural policy?" he asked. "Because Bank of America has a deep stake in agriculture. We are the world's largest agricultural lender with lines of credit for agricultural production running at about a billion dollars a year. Our total agricultural commitment is probably around $3 billion. We've been in agriculture a long time and we intend to stay in agriculture for a lot longer. In a very real sense, then, agriculture is our business."

While Bank of America and other lending agencies continue to liberally finance agriculture in California, a greater concentration of power evolves into fewer hands. Indeed in a state where 6.1 percent of the farms own 78.6 percent of the land it can be said that the large corporate farms have simply become creatures of the banks. As the farm workers' strike dragged on, it became increasingly evident that a few very powerful men with large landholdings in the southern San Joaquin Valley were making the key policy decisions for the area's dozens of table grape growers.

A cartoon on the cover of *El Malcriado* ("The Voice of

A.V. KREBS, JR., *a free-lance writer and long-time observer of the California scene, has written previously on the farm-workers' efforts to unionize.*

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the Farm Worker") pictured a group of farm workers waiting patiently at the negotiating table while a large group of small growers are being driven away and over the edge of a cliff by Roman soldiers waving the banner of "No Compromise." The soldiers are labeled (Jack) "Pandol" (who owns over 2,200 acres in the Delano area), (Martin) "Zaninovich" (the Zaninovichs own a total of over 8,000 acres), and (Joseph) "Giumarra" who owns some 12,400 acres. Giumarra, reportedly the largest fresh grape grower in the world, has sales of over $12 million annually.

The pressure of the UFWOC national boycott had a noticeable affect, and the growers worked hard in search of new markets and ways to sell table grapes. Once again, however, the unwitting taxpayer assisted them, for California agribusiness, in the past six decades, has never found itself at a loss on how to capitalize on a war abroad.

In World War I, pleading manpower shortage, the growers were able to enlist Boy Scouts and deaf mutes for approximately 25c an hour; and the "Women's Land Army of America, California Division" who were marched into the fields in military formation singing patriotic songs, to harvest the crops. In World War II they initiated, and then in the Korean conflict accelerated, the *bracero* program which subsequently took Congress nearly two decades to terminate.

In the Vietnamese war, agribusiness went at it once again, selling the military hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of table grapes they could not sell in the nation's grocery stores and supermarkets due to the union's boycott activities. Department of Defense figures show that during fiscal 1967 the government bought 468,000 pounds of grapes for shipment to Vietnam. In fiscal 1969 they purchased some 2.1 million pounds, an increase of 350 percent since the nation-wide boycott first began three years ago. The largest single supplier of these grapes to the military, reportedly, has been the Giumarra vineyards.

The growers, while looking for new markets (such as Vietnam and the South) and new methods (spending some $1 million with Whitaker and Baxter "to protect and enhance the reputation of California fresh grapes") appeared still to have one solid supporter among the nation's major supermarket chains in their effort to break the strike. Despite numerous efforts by the UFWOC to discuss the mounting boycott and a nationwide shopper's petition, Safeway Stores, Inc. refused to agree to remove table grapes from their produce shelves.

Safeway operates 2241 retail food stores in the U.S., the United Kingdom, and western Europe. Accounting for over 10 percent of all retail food sales among the top 100 supermarkets in this country, most of the company's business is done west of the Mississippi River. In 1968 Safeway, the second largest retail food chain in the U.S., achieved sales of $3.7 billion, a net income of over $55 million, and an annual average retail sales per supermarket of $1.6 million. The market chain is the largest handler of California table grapes in the Western U.S., buying over 250 railroad carlots a year from Giumarra vineyards alone, worth over $1 million in sales.

When one examines Safeway's corporate structure a much clearer picture emerges as to why the chain refused to do business with the union. Safeway's board of directors sit as the heads of numerous agribusiness corporations, utilities and farm equipment companies which serve the state's agricultural industry. Two members each of Safeway's board sit in similar positions with three of California's largest banks.

Typical of the large landowners on Safeway's board is J.G. Boswell II. Besides owning more than 108,814 acres of California land and 500 acres of table grapes in Arizona, Boswell's $50 million-a-year business leases some 25,000 acres from the famous Miller-Lux holdings which Carey McWilliams described in detail in his classic *Factories In the Field*. In 1967 the Boswell Co. received $4,091,818 in cotton subsidies under the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Act. In 1968 he was awarded $3,010,042 and again in 1969 for the third year in a row he was the nation's leading recipient with $4,370,657. The company's 37,555-acre Boston Ranch is also slated to be irrigated from the federally-subsidized multi-billion Westlands Water Project, an area located along the western side of the state's 400-mile San Joaquin Valley.

Over 70 percent of all the land which will be irrigated by that project is now legally ineligible under the present 160-acre reclamation act to receive the estimated $1000 an acre water subsidy. In Washington, D.C. Senator George Murphy is seeking through legislation to change the present law to 640 acres, even though 60 percent of the State's farms average less than 50 acres.

Political Power

This combination of land, water and capital buys enormous amounts of political power, which can be seen in any number of the key administrative jobs in Sacramento. For example, Allan Grant, five-term president of the California Farm Bureau, is also President of the State Board of Agriculture and a regent of the University of California. Grant's university connections again dramatize another important aspect of the power California's agricultural interests possess, for he is only one of the many regents, representing the state's agribusiness-financial axis, who, as U.C. student protestors have charged, have turned the nation's largest university system into an agro-academia.

It was during the 1968 student protests that the depth of the roots of this axis was exposed in a factual and comprehensive study, "The Dirt on California: Agribusiness and the University," by Anne and Hal Draper. (Available from ISC, P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, Calif.

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94701, 35c.) Draper, an editor of *New Politics* and author of Grove Press' *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt (1965)*, and his wife, a long-time trade unionist and secretary of Citizens for Farm Labor, detail in their 32-page report how U.C. while rhapsodizing about its "contribution to agriculture" has used its power throughout its long history to oppress farm workers.

One of the most obvious ways in which the university has benefited agricultural interests in the state is through research by its Division of Agricultural Sciences spread throughout the state university system. *The Wall Street Journal* in 1968 in an article "A Farm Subsidy You Don't Hear About," described U.C. as "a tax-paid clinic for a major industry." Indeed, as the Drapers point out, "there is no other big industry in the U.S. which has its money-making research done for it, free, by a government agency on such a scale."

As an example, in fiscal 1967 the University's State Experiment Station spent more than $25 million. Of this, over $17 million was from state funds and nearly $7 million came from federal funds. Less than $1.5 million came from the industry. Taxpayers, like students, have been asking themselves why they should subsidize U.C. Davis' 25-year study on the corrosion of fence wire, or a project "facilitating the marketing of seed," or on developing equipment for twining hops.

The use of university studies to depress domestic farm workers' wages and to support grower demands in the past for *braceros* is one of the particularly inglorious chapters of the University of California. The famous 1964 Eric Thor-John Namer Giannini report which dealt with the continuing need for *braceros* was carefully edited and trimmed so as to omit the fact that authoritative studies had shown that domestic workers were available for farm work if they were provided with decent wages and working conditions.

Still another aspect of U.C.'s ties with agribusiness is brought out in the Drapers' report concerning the proceeds entirely derived from the farm mechanization research program that gets divided between the university, as the owner of the patents and collector of the royalties, and the companies which are assigned the patents and pay the royalties. Once again the taxpayer is the loser, as the possible revenue the university might have earned from these patents and royalties is passed along to the industry, i.e., up to now the university has not taken out any patents on the various plants its scientists have developed; they have become the property of agribusiness—free!

"H.P. Olmo, Professor of Viticulture at Davis," the Drapers report, "says breeding new plants is becoming a very expensive proposition for the university and that royalties would be helpful in defraying costs. He says that if the system had charged just a nickel a vine for university-developed grape varieties now growing in California, it would have netted $350,000."

New strains of fruits and vegetables are now being perfected at U.C. to withstand the rigors of field mechanization. The University, therefore, has an opportunity to supplement its income by making agriculture use some of its nearly $1 billion a year net income to pay some of its own production costs.

It is all this power amassed in the last century by agribusiness which overshadows all of California's public and private institutions, its businesses and its politics and which the destitute farm worker must face daily in his efforts to achieve dignity and justice. As the Drapers conclude: "It would be an exaggeration to say that agribusiness is the master of the social order in California, but it would be an exaggeration only because agribusiness shades into the financial power structure so neatly, and it is that combination which is the master."

TWO LADIES

THE STAGE

In 1960 I passed through Hollywood while *A Raisin in the Sun* was being filmed and saw the shooting of a scene in which the patiently suffering wife, so much less flamboyant than the other characters, finally bursts out in pain and anger. The explosion, on stage, had seemed inevitable, because Ruby Dee had carefully built a character, boiling beneath a deceptively calm surface; on the set, I was fascinated to see that in take after take she could step directly into the outburst—no build, no deliberate lead-in—and make it as moving as it had been in the theater.

Ten years later, at the Circle in the Square, I watched another display of virtuosity, although this time Miss Dee did not need to work in fragments; instead she encompassed an accident, absorbed it into the slow, almost rambling growth of the character she was playing. In *Boesman and Lena*, Athol Fugard's new play, she and James Earl Jones, as the title characters, play barefoot. At one point, Boesman, a little drunk, a little jealous, throws down a wine bottle, and Jones, never an actor for the small gesture, threw it with enough force to smash it against one of the other props. Lena, who has for years walked barefoot across South Africa, presumably has feet tough enough to deal with a broken bottle, but Miss Dee, the pretend Lena, does not. She circled the make-believe campfire, picking up the broken glass, even dipping at splinters with a wet rag. In one corner of my mind, I knew that there was something ridiculous—artistically not personally—in her actions, but she never lost Lena for a moment, never let the actress push the character offstage in her understandable attempt to protect her feet.

At an ordinary play, such a display of skill, however

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Fall Prospect

BESIDES THE RECENT signing of the West German-Russian friendship pact, several parleys this season carry renewed hope for peace in the world: Israel-Egypt, the resumed Paris peace talks and the all-important US-Soviet negotiations adjourned from Vienna to Helsinki on limiting nuclear armaments. Among the most significant Fall meetings will be the European Assembly of Priests at Amsterdam and the World Conference on Religion and Peace in Japan. And with Congressional by-elections as well, it will be a key season to keep posted.

Commonweal will be bringing to its readers the insights of such writers of eminence in their respective fields as Michael Novak, Linda Kuehl, Gerald Weales, Bishop Francis Simons, Edward T. Chase, Joseph Blenkinsopp, Saul Maloff, Gregory Baum, Ruth Beinart, Dr. Robert Coles, Bernard Murchland, Rosemary Ruether, John C. Cort, Phyllis Holzschlog, and Neale Hunter.

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illusion-breaking, might be more rewarding than the show itself. Not so with *Boesman and Lena*, for Fugard is one of the best playwrights working in the theater today. The new play, like his earlier remarkable *The Blood Knot*, is essentially a two-character play (the Old African is little more than a prop) in which the couple break the customary patterns by which they survive only to discover, to voice the emptiness, the hopelessness in that survival. Like the games the brothers play in *Knot*, Lena's decision to trade her mind-deadening bottle of wine for the company of the old *Kaffer*, who speaks only Xhosa and can neither understand nor talk to her, is the device that initiates the interior action of the play. Boesman and Lena are a colored couple, shut out of both the white community and the black, toward which they feel superior, driven from one shanty to another with their belongings on their heads and backs, living a marginal existence. The depth of their antagonism and their need for one another becomes clear in the play, but it is not a conventional theater revelation, a cleansing discovery, for nothing alters. After all, their shared hell is not their own invention. Fugard is so impressive a playwright to me because he is able to use a closed Beckett-like situation and translate it into a context in which the stage game finds its relevance in the social world (South Africa today) as well as in whatever existential universe. The play, at the Circle, ends on a more positive note than the Fugard play seems to on the page, because Miss Dee puts into her final, "I'm alive Boesman" speech a tone which suggests the uplift of conventional drama. For me, the genuine positive note in the Fugard plays, as in Samuel Beckett's, is the life of the characters themselves, their power of survival in ever worsening circumstances, the fact of their existence which seems to contradict what the play says directly and in overt action (or inaction). That calls for a real Boesman and Lena to rise out of the imaginary mudflats, and Jones and Miss Dee have created them. To the actress, however, goes the greater share of the credit for Lena is almost continually center stage, talking, humming, worrying her few belongings, trying to find herself geographically and psychologically. You can't expect a broken bottle every night at the Circle in the Square but you can expect an honest-to-God Lena in the best play in New York, which means Ruby Dee in a part as strong as her talent.

In 1953, at the 92nd Street YMHA, I went to see Dylan Thomas and a group of young performers read a new play, *Under Milk Wood*. Of the performers, Thomas aside, it was the two actresses who were most impressive, sliding from one character to another, creating in an instant women so believable that the stools, the reading stands, the empty stage almost became Llareggub. One of the girls was Sada Thompson. For me, Miss Thompson is not neatly bound by two images, as Ruby Dee is. I have seen her work more often, in a wider variety of roles. Two

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seasons ago, watching her in *An Evening for Merlin Finch*, I realized that she has become one of the best actresses in the business, particularly when she plays a part in which a noisy, neurotic, funny surface masks a woman whose confusion and pain is almost unbearable. She is such a character again in *The Effect of the Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds*, this time in a presumably realistic setting. Paul Zindel's play is a very fragile one, a simple (perhaps simple-minded) character study of a disappointed mother casually destroying her daughters. Although the play is chockfull of exposition (about her father, her husband, her history), Beatrice's plight (unlike Lena's) never seems more than a stage convention. Beatrice, herself, however, in the person of Sada Thompson, is real enough, a woman whose horror of the world can best be recognized not in her somewhat soapy specific statements ("I hate the world, Tilly") but in the way she curls up in a chair, fumbles for a cigarette, pushes a cup of water toward an old woman, taking and giving comfort as though she were wielding a weapon. At the New Theatre you can expect an honest-to-God Beatrice in a not very impressive play, which means that Sada Thompson still needs a part as strong as her talent.

Gerald Weales

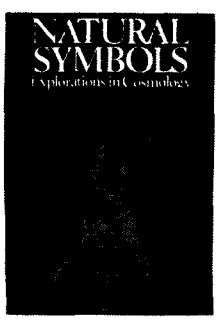
BOOKS

The sartorial shagginess of St. John the Baptist, hippies and Nuer prophets

Purity and Danger
MARY DOUGLAS
Penguin, $1.45

Natural Symbols
MARY DOUGLAS
Pantheon, $5.95

PETER STEINFELS



Mary Douglas is an anthropologist, who has done fieldwork in the Congo, authored the article on taboos ("Pollution") in the new edition of the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, written about the sociology of jokes, arranged a conference at which medievalists and Africanists exchanged ideas about witchcraft practices. Three years ago in this magazine ("Politics and the Sacred," December 29, 1967), Terry Eagleton mentioned at length Mary Douglas' thesis that primitive attitudes toward dirt and uncleanness are "a positive effort to organize the environment . . . (and) impose system on an inherently untidy experience . . . Reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death."

This thesis was presented in *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, which is now being published in the U.S. In *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, Mrs. Douglas moves from observations on primitive religion and society to analysis of contemporary attitudes toward symbol and ritual. At a time when most books on religion, caught between the Charybdis of traditional approaches and the Scylla of bi-annual fads, manage so to resemble one another that the titles, tables of contents, bibliography and even chapter headings are usually interchangeable, and that merely to skim the book jackets stimulates a strong desire to read something else, like the Weather Reports in last week's newspapers, at such a time one naturally hopes that a scholar of unusual background like Mrs. Douglas will have something different to say.

She does, though it is not easy to explain her argument. *Natural Symbols* promises to be tightly argued but ends up organized a little like a railroad train, one carload of ideas hitched on after the other, the whole thing clearly going in a single direction but without its being certain what is freight and what is fuel and whether some boxcars are empty or might be rearranged or even left on a siding without affecting the success of the transit. Sometimes the author asserts boldly and baldly (and sometimes badly); sometimes she meekly suggests that her only intention is to put forward a few hypotheses for future research. Furthermore, much of the intellectual stimulation provoked by these books comes from the random sparks flying off Mrs. Douglas' anvil: her unapologetic equation of the sacraments with magic and sin with taboo, her discussion of such varied topics as "Low Church" pygmies, the attraction of revivalist movements for well-to-do women, or the reason for sartorial shagginess in the instances of St. John the Baptist, hippies and Nuer prophets.

Yet there is a specific point to all this, and perhaps it might be best to begin with what Mrs. Douglas is arguing *against;*

1. The notion that genuine "inner" religion is something apart from and superior to "mere" ritual, that taboo beliefs and purification rites are either survivals of primitive hygiene or the embarrassing residues of lower forms of religious life in which spiritual forces have nothing to do with morality.

2. The "compensation theory" which "for too long . . . has loosely dominated the sociology of religion"—that is, the theory which "couched in vaguely psycho-analytical

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terms," explains all religious behavior as compensation for material or psychic deprivation.

3. The generalized anti-ritualist bias of our contemporary culture: the common equation of ritual with empty conformity.

All the while conducting a vigorous critique of "blind alley" approaches to primitive beliefs inherited from founding fathers of comparative religious studies like Edward B. Tylor, Robertson Smith and James G. Frazer, Mrs. Douglas develops the Durkheimian principle that "Society is God": religious belief and ritual reflect, express, articulate and maintain the structures of society.

Extending the principle, in *Purity and Danger*, to the area of taboo and magic rites which Durkheim himself had set apart from primitive religiosity, Mrs. Douglas takes the most apparently inexplicable ritual precepts (say, Leviticus's ban on eating rock badgers), and brilliantly demonstrates how they shore up the categories by which a certain kind of society orders its world. Notions of dirt and defilement, purification, magic and sorcery, concentrate at those points of ambiguity or conflict, at external boundaries or particular internal relationships, which threaten a group's ability to express and maintain its social structures.

In *Natural Symbols* Mrs. Douglas constructs a typology of societies, employing the criteria of *group*, a society's sense of itself as a separate, bounded unity, and *grid*, the pattern of ego-centered relations between individuals within a society. Depending on whether *group* and *grid* are both strong or both weak, or one strong and one weak, Mrs. Douglas hypothesizes what will be a society's attitude toward the efficacy of rituals, toward sin (as overt act or internal intention), toward language and art, toward witchcraft and the source of evil, above all toward the physical body (the "natural symbol" of the social body) and toward codes concerning defilement, grooming, restraint, ecstasy and trance.

Her hypotheses are mainly tested against anthropological data on primitive peoples and several African tribes in particular. But *Natural Symbols* is replete with illustrations drawn from London's "Bog Irish" and West Indian Pentecostals, from the "Dutch Catechism," *Boewulf* and the biography of Lord Thomson, from Chinese geomancy, 19th-century Protestant sects and New Left revolutionaries.

It hardly seems necessary to stress the novelty and suggestiveness of this effort. Nor is it surprising that *Natural Symbols* is prickly with problems.

In *Purity and Danger* Mrs. Douglas declared that, "So long as Christianity has any life, it will never be time to stop echoing the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, to stop saying that external forms can become empty and mock the truths they stand for." But in *Natural Symbols* she has it in for modernizing theologians and church leaders who are trying to replace good old-fashioned magic with humanitarian "inner" religion—an attitude, she feels, which simply reflects the peculiar social situation of this educated elite rather than the actual needs of their flocks.

She scores some good points. She apparently intends these sections to be more than mere gadflying about, however; and yet they fall considerably short of an informed, fairly argued case. The ethical drive in modern religion, for example, is treated with the same compensation theory and tone of condescension Mrs. Douglas rightly deplores in the approach of late Victorians toward primitive rituals. She does not apply the same criteria to statements from the Vatican — now what might be its *grid* and *group?* — as to those from the English hierarchy. And anyone who can refer to the constituents of the Dutch bishops as "vast, unlettered flocks" risks giving the impression that she knows more about Congolese tribesmen than about the natives of Western Europe!

This is no "value-free" book, which is fine with me: the modern attitude toward ritual is repeatedly described in connotative terms like "impoverished," "barren," or "beggared." And yet it is not clear exactly what in her system might ground such jugments. Furthermore, it turns out that "the apparent anti-ritualism of today is the adoption of one set of religious symbols in place of another." So where is the problem—if it is not in Mrs. Douglas' rather standard and none-too-knowledgeable warning about the millenialism of the New Left? She runs the danger of trivializing her thesis, pinching it into the confines of pop-gun polemicizing about fish-on-Friday, the New Left and those effete snobs of intellectuals.

There are other, more serious, difficulties. "No longer," writes Mrs. Douglas in a chapter relating cosmologies to social structures, "should it be permitted for historians to write as if philosophies move autonomously in a social vacuum." Indeed it has not been permitted for some time; and this apparent (or momentary) innocence of alternative ways of relating beliefs to social structure—ranging from mere worldly wisdom to Marxism in all its vulgar or refined forms—all too easily grants Mrs. Douglas' own proposals the run of the house. To take one slight example—but her own—few Catholic intellectuals had any illusion that the change in Friday abstinence was a theological breakthrough; they knew it was a handy concession—passable as "progressive" though few progressives had made any fuss about it—which might entail losses for fishermen but none for the authority structure of the church, and, anyway, concerned a precept never taken as seriously by the tribesmen along the Tiber as by those along the Thames or Liffey. The superiority of an explanation in terms of *grid* and *group* and "elaborated" and "restricted" linguistic codes to this simple, workaday scepticism is not altogether obvious.

It is impossible to read Mrs. Douglas without trying out her method on random cases—to explain the contrast between Irish and Italian Catholicism, or the recent swift shift from anti-ritualism to super-ritualism among both theologians and New Leftists. But I find myself wondering whether the *grid-group* formulation suffices. It seems, at times, a terribly complicated way of oversimplifying everything. Like Durkheim's, Mrs. Douglas' approach is essentially ahistorical; she seeks "formula for classifying relations which can be applied equally to the smallest band of hunters and gatherers as to the most

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industrialized nations." Such an objective is impressive and challenging; perhaps it is also illusory. Perhaps the same categories can be applied to societies of such different character, such different absolute size, such different sorts of historical consciousness, only by unduly flattening out one's portrait of advanced societies and by ignoring the historical factors which formed them.

Maybe it is due to her effort, stimulating as it is, to set the primitive and the industrialized worlds side by side, that Mrs. Douglas gives little attention to the relationship between anti-ritualism and science. This lacuna weakens her attempt to account for "the long secular trend . . . which has resulted in a lack of sensitivity to condensed symbols." Certainly, in *Purity and Danger* she deftly reveals how our contemporary, supposedly scientific attitude toward dirt closely resembles that of the taboo-conscious primitive. Yet even if our "belief" in science were treated in parallel fashion to religious beliefs as a product of certain social structures (and while such a parallel has more to recommend it than certain naive theories of scientific truth, I am not sure how far it can be pushed), still the very principles Mrs. Douglas propounds suggest that a single society cannot believe both in "scientific" principles and procedures and in sharply contradictory religious principles and rituals.

These objections are not minor, but the fascination, originality and creativity of these books remain. Mrs. Douglas' treatment of social attitudes toward the physical body as expressive of attitudes toward the social body seems more fruitful than approaches stressing the individual psyche. (*Purity and Danger* contains some interesting criticisms of Norman O. Brown.) Her "replication theory" of religious behavior does everything a "compensation theory" can do and then some. One is tempted to draw up projects which could profitably employ her insights, ranging from a re-investigation of Victorian prudery or the current "sexual revolution" to an analysis of the *grid* and *group*, and hence the attitude toward ritual, of the alternative futures described in future studies.

But one also hopes Mary Douglas may someday turn her attention very specifically to Christianity. For no matter how persuasive the various arguments which link religion with the maintenance of social structures whether these arguments come from Rousseau, Billy Graham, Durkheim, or Mrs. Douglas herself, the question remains whether this should be the role of that which Christ revealed. Is Christianity, in this sense, a religion?

Quarup

ANTONIO CALLADO

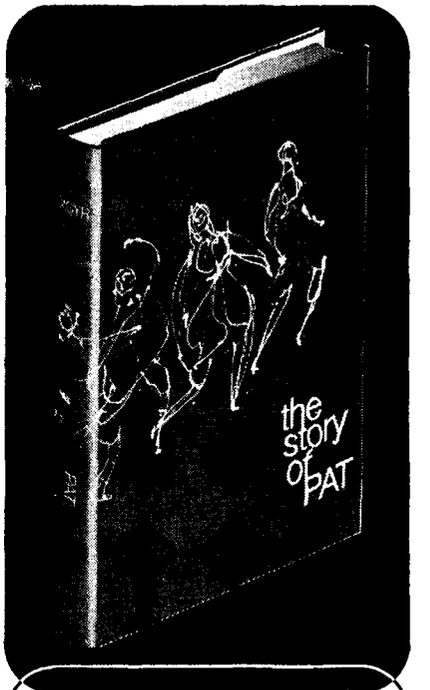
TRANS. BARBARA SHELBY

Knopf, $8.95

RONALD CHRIST

One of the Love Generation's graffiti reads: "It's nice to be important, but it's more important to be nice." Applied to literature, that maxim might read: "It's good to be important, but it's more important to be good." In that version the saying certainly points up the deficiency of Antonio Callado's first novel, *Quarup*, which deals with the social and political situation in Brazil from the years of the Vargas regime through the military coup in 1964. The importance of Callado's subject, given recent events in Brazil, is undisputable, but then so is his failure, given the reader's right to satisfying fiction in a novel.

What Callado has to tell us about those past years in Brazil is disturbingly prophetic of what we have been reading about these last few months: social and economic oppression, exploitation and extermination of the Indians, military repression leading to brutal, calculated torture of opponents of the government. In fact everything Callado writes of as happening in the past seems true or, even, truer of the Brazil we are forced to recognize today. But what does not seem true are Callado's characters or the ludicrous conceptions that motivate them. On the one hand, the author seems drawn to deal with the savage facts of Brazil's condition, but on the other he seems driven to deal with those facts only in the way they effect people who tend to be card-



PATTY-ANNE, daughter of Margaret StCyr, the author, was born brain-damaged. This is the story of her growth through nineteen years of family concern, skilled surgery and a variety of educational experiences. It is also the author's own story which she calls "the tale of one family helping their brain-injured child toward an awakened, happier, more normal life. her dignity intact."

Margaret StCyr says: "Our grief through the first five years when she didn't walk or talk was almost impossible to bear. What we did not know was that she would bring out the best in all of us and spread her courage everywhere she went. It has left us poignantly aware of how much is left to do for our academically limited children, our mentally retarded. There *can* be music in the lives of thousands of brain-injured children born each year to inexperienced but loving parents."

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By
MARGARET StCYR

From your religious bookstore or from the publisher

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board constructions or weirdly frivolous, fatuously grotesque caricatures. The result is a book that never jells into a consistent vision of the inner or outer life of Brazil, a book that leaves you wishing Callado, an internationally prominent journalist, had chosen to write a reportorial, investigative study.

The principal character, Nando, is a nebish priest who is more acted upon than acting as he undergoes a series of four psycho-political metamorphoses gradually leading him from the church to guerrilla insurgency; and it is to these transformations that the book's awkward title, an Indian word referring to a resurrection ritual, calls our attention. At the beginning Nando is a priest hoping to restore a theocratic, communistic republic which the Jesuits had once founded, then he is a disenchanted, defrocked priest working for the Indian Protection Service and seeking the geographical center of Brazil as part of an exploration party, then he is a committed worker in the Northeast of Brazil trying to improve the people's circumstances by educating them in political action, then he is the sole founder of an Academy of Amorous Science which attempts to revolutionize the world through sexual love, and finally he is an outlaw and a murderer. Characteristically, however, Callado hints that this will not be the last of Nando's incarnations when he has Nando's companion warn him: "Those black clothes didn't make you a priest. And that leather jacket ain't gonna make you an outlaw." Nevertheless, that is as far as Callado takes Nando, hinting that guerrilla-inspired revolution is only one more of the phases through which Nando and, by implication, Brazil must pass. Surely there is the skeleton of a story in *Quarup*, but in fleshing it out, most notably in making his symbolic points, Callado has betrayed himself and his reader. For example, Callado obviously sees Nando as a microcosmic reflection of Brazil, but when he repeatedly insists that Nando's sexual problem — premature ejaculation — is the direct equivalent of the political behavior that leaves the Brazilian mother country "waiting and waiting, unsatisfied and neurotic" Callado has gone too far in the direction of turning *Lady Chatterly's Lover* into a foolish political parable. Futhermore, the exploration party that forgets to bring a flag to mark the geographical center or even a tape measure with which to determine it, as well as the geographical center itself, which is a swarming anthill, are symbols too obvious and didactic to seem anything but wooden in an apparently psychological and social novel. In the world of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* or some of Latin America's other fantastic fiction, such images might be appropriate, but they fail here because Callado never succeeds in establishing — never even tries to establish — a suitable context or tone for such absurd theories and mechanical allegories. Nor is his failure in any way redeemed by the translation which either creates or reflects a style that is dull, especially in its dialogue, sometime passionately purple, most of all in its descriptions of nature and sexual love, and frequently silly, as in its attempt to render a Brazilian muledriver's speech with phrases like "Gosh amighty."

All in all, then, the reader who is attracted to Callado's novel by reason of its immediate appeal to our contemporary consciousness is going to be embarrassed by the fiction he finds there. And since the startling relevance of the book's subject matter in no way compensates for its inability either to generate a self-sustaining esthetic norm or to yield a meaningful insight into the political issues, that embarrassment is not worth the book's price.

Whitewater

PAUL HORGAN

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $6.95

ANNE FREMANTLE

Paul Horgan's twelfth novel, and twentieth book is concerned, as basically most of his works are, with the here flowing, there simultaneous *(nunc fluens-tunc simul)* together and total aspects of time. He takes the lives of a group of people living in a town he calls Belvedere, in East Texas, in the 1940's. More specifically, he tells of the lives of three teenagers: in order of appearance, Phillipson Durham, William Breedlove and Marilee Underwood. They are very different. Phil, whose parents have not long come to Belvedere, is an introvert; Billy is a golden glorious creature, a born leader, a marvelous mimic, who dominates his friends and especially Marilee. The three are shown in their common round, of high school, home chores, part-time jobs, sports and the constant riding round town in cars, ending in socializing at the Saddle and Sirloin. And also, as their omniscient narrator sees them, each unique and complete, that is, complicated, contradictory, complex and wholly unaware of what makes them tick, or even of the fact that they are ticking.

In his prelude — and much in the marvelous construction of this novel recalls a musical composition, nor can the reader forget that Paul Horgan is also a most accomplished musician — the story's themes are sounded by a flash forward. Phil, now a happily married professor in an Applachian college, when asked by a student the best way to reach perception, replies "You often see more by looking at an upside-down reflection in water than you do if you look at what casts it." This reflected sign, he adds, can seem like the past "about which there is so much to learn and remember." While the direct sign "is like the present," which "we hardly notice by living in it."

The Whitewater of the title is now an artificial lake, eighteen miles long and six at its widest. Created because the railroads needed water for their locomotives, it took ten years to fill up: the former inhabitants of the town (now sunk some three hundred feet in the lake's depth) moved to Belvedere or Orpha City. Whitewater lake, and the drowned town, since "nothing is gone," act and react on each other throughout the novel, and the double image, like the double vision by which it is seen, records without repetition, like a theme in a symphony.

In the beginning, Phil and Billy, in a canoe on their way to camp one night on Whitewater's best island, hear mysterious voices, one heavy, one

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light. To hear what is being said, they strip and swim, but only make out that one voice is asking, one answering. Swimming still nearer in the moonless dark, they are shot at, twice. Next morning no one is around. The first sign of Belevedere they see on their return home is the silver-painted municipal water tank "shining with a soft glow against the horizon haze" caused by the smog from nearby oil fields. This water tank is the nemesis for all three of the story's protagonists. Yet it is no external thing, but their own natures which bring them to their separate destinies: everything that happens to each one is inevitable, and, given causality, unavoidable.

As Paul Horgan's major theme is the double vision of reality, the "now and in the hour of our death" that make up the always 'only now,' so his minor one is the double vision of good and evil, beauty and ugliness. On the one hand there is the shoddiness and vulgarity of "most everything" men try to make, that hurts Phil so: on the other, there is the "incomparable pomp of eve" as Robert Lewis Stevenson called it, that pours over the tawdry and the trivial. So Phil admires the accidental industrial beauty, produced by the vapor lights on tall aluminum poles over the highway, when the sky is still brilliant and the earth a lilac gray. And the plains at the end of every street, the "long laterals of the land" seeming to "echo visibly the unseen strands of air moving above the earth" which make "lakes of light in the sky woven with long twines of eccentric lyricism and raw good will" and of the "puzzled gracelessness" of his fellow citizens.

Rabindrath Tagore declared all reality to be relationship, and in *Whitewater* the relationships are built up delicately, stroke by stroke, as in a Seurat painting, so that each is essential to every other. Indeed, Paul Horgan (a Renaissance man oddly at home in our specialized century) is also a most competent artist, he makes pictorial notes for all his books, and is a painter of enchanting landscapes.

There are two main triangles in *Whitewater*: first Phil discovers Marilee, then Billy does, but Billy also discovers Phil. Marilee is a unique girl, but Phil is like no other boy, so Billy promises that the three of them will be something new in Belvedere. It is Billy's will that leads them, but he "never felt that Phil's friendship was made of — of how much resentment, unwilling love, envy, curiosity, admiration, self-hatred." Yet Billy knew that "all you've got to use in this world is yourself." The other, older triangle, is made up of Tom Bob, the bank manager; his exotic mistress, Thyra, who works in a beauty shop and salvages her conscience by doing good with all the money Tom Bob lavishes on her; and Tom Bob's wife. Thyra gives him the "belly-comfort" denied him by his snobbish, childless wife, whose "feats of social engineering" include serving floating islands dessert in the afternoon. Yet the wife "alone of the three had passion," and when she thinks she is dying of cancer she takes a gun to kill her rival. Billy's mother persuades her to forgive — or rather "the power of the Ten Commandments" working through her does and Thyra, brought low by such magnaminity, gives up Tom Bob. Paul Horgan is not sentimental: the result is that Tom Bob has a stroke and dies, his mistress fades into addled old age, and his wife has hysterics over Billy's death. "Virtue was sure to triumph." So Lewis Priddle, called the conscience of the community, concludes.

"Everybody's end is sad" Vicky tells Phil, and so it is. Billy's terrible death, literally at Phil's hand, and Marilee's lonely, watery exit: badgered by her mother, preached at by priests, loved by Phil, she goes to Billy who has "called to her through their child."

Paul Horgan, as W.H. Auden wrote of his Maker "is affectionate to all his creatures." But his courage is not less than its compassion: one is cheated, "not even the world of its triumph," and it is not easier for Phil to live than for Billy and Marilee to die. What is most satisfactory is the clarity of line — as in a great draughtsman's work or a great dressmaker's; this story is, for all its richness, beautifully uncluttered.

William Blake prayed:

> may God us keep from single vision and Newton's sleep.

In *Whitewater* this prayer is answered: as above, so below, the two worlds, interior and exterior, of reality and reflection, are both admirably viewed and recorded.

REVIEWERS

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Anne Fremantle is a well-known author, anthologist and critic. Her most recent book is *The Age of Belief.*

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 35)

that is an accomplishment. It's possible that the American Church is witnessing the birth of a "new man" who is losing the marks of the individualists, who sees himself once again acting through and with a revolutionary community that has an ideology, a set of goals and a

Paul Tillich's Dialectical Humanism

Unmasking the God above God
LEONARD F. WHEAT

Regarded by some as a creative Christian leader and by others as an atheist of the first order, Paul Tillich defies ready interpretation. Dr. Wheat asserts that Tillich concealed his atheism so as to remain within the Protestant Church and bring about the changes he thought necessary to its survival. $9.00

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Baltimore, Maryland 21218
Publishers of The
Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower

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1. Date of filing: October 1, 1970.
2. Title of publication: COMMONWEAL.
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly, except bi-weekly, Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September.
4. Location of known office of publication: 173 E. Washington Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn. 06601.
5. Location of the headquarters of general business offices of the publishers: 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, Edward S. Skillin, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; Editor, James O'Gara, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; Managing Editor, John Deedy, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock): Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N.Y. 10016; Mrs. Clare Dower, New Milford, Conn.; Kathleen Casey Craig, Sewickley, Pa.; Estate of J. Sanford Shanley, 152 East 36th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; William Pfaff, Ridgefield, Conn., Edward S. Skillin, 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; Estate of Otto L. Spaeth, 120 East 81st St., New York, N.Y. 10028.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
9. For completion by non-profit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10.	Average No. Copies each Issue During preceding 12 months	Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date
a) Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)	38,971	35,365
b) Paid Circulation		
1. Sales though dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales:	2,618	2,451
2. Mail subscriptions	33,338	29,270
c) Total Paid Circulation	35,956	31,721
d) Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other	2,565	3,539
e) Total distribution (Sums of C and D)	38,521	35,260
f) Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	450	105
g) Total (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)	38,971	35,365

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Circulation Department

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New York, N.Y. 10016

spirituality around which they can unite themselves. Mrs. Ruether's comments hit me with force; it was only last night that I thought, as I handed out pamphlets at the Indiana State Fair and let the river of people flow past me, momentarily glancing at the sheet I had handed them — "What can these people really do (about the war)? How can they think about setting themselves over against 'our President?' Aren't they willing, malleable minds at the mercy of their immediate needs. Why half won't even take a slip of paper from me! Like sheep led to the slaughter — that was the cross section of middle America that passed me by; 4,000 have taken the paper, 4,000 haven't out of fear or indifference. They'll buy whatever the President sells because he does keep disorder from overwhelming us; keeps the Communist from our doors. Better the known order as defective as it is than a revolution."

The average — even the above average — American priest is a part of that river that walked by me.

(Rev.) Bernard Survil

Is Christ a Hard Hat?

Huntington, New York

To the Editors: Please be advised that this subscriber takes offense at the article, *Labor's Split Political Personality*, by Whatshisname in your August seventh issue.

The hit-run driver is like the man who does not sign his name to his critical essay. We will assume that since the phantom stands behind the masthead of *Commonweal*, *Commonweal* will stand behind the phantom.

Words have substance; and when they are driven haphazardly can run over and hurt people. You are witness to the accident which appeared in your August seventh issue. I felt the impact of these words, and after looking for the writer could only find the one who supplied him with pad and pencil—*Commonweal*. You and he are one.

It is interesting that an author who chooses a subject on split personality should not sign his name. The author who has halved himself criticizes splitting. It is not the true half that criticizes but the pseudo-half. You and this half are one. Yet, Joe Hill who has no substance has used some words which have substance. How can this be? *Commonweal* has given being to his words.

We do not understand the Ghost from His words since He inspires by silence. Words have spirit but the Spirit has no words. Words come from men. What is the spirit of the men behind the essay, *Labor's Split Political Personality?*

You have told us, dear *Commonweal*, (how I loved you), that the author is "a journalist who specializes in labor affairs." Come now. The author, Joe Hill, hates labor. Joseph the Worker is our witness. Did we hear right, that "Meany is a product of the swamp of the New York building trades"? Who the hell do you think your readers are? You are hard to recognize here, old friend. These words are as false as Joe Hill. Keep in mind the "swamp" indictment comes from a judge who wears a mask and writes on a kangaroo court typewriter. We have considered his previous work, *Labor's Political Kick—Still There?* and *Labor Loses A Leader* and find in them the same bitterness toward organized tradesmen.

From the so-called "swamp" came wonderful men. The New York building trades are the men who built the Madison Avenue from which you criticize and built it without a share of the profits or a stock option. They are the men who were thrown down the stairs into the streets by management goons when they sought workmen's compensation and insurance for the injured and the widow. There is tradesmen's blood on every building in New York City.

The labor movement has not changed. The author thinks he perceives change, but his perception of labor is myopic. The enigmatic "labor" is like the enigmatic Christ. You can criticize Him but you will not understand Him until you are like Him. It was no accident that Christ was a laborer for most of His life. The scribe angered Him but not the laborer.

Let Joe Hill be advised that organized labor is composed of men that work hard, do not receive a share of the profits and resent the Joe Hills who think they "understand" labor.

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Let Joe understand that the hard-hat demonstration in Wall Street was not for war but was to endorse a sense of obedience and organization and to rebuke anyone who challenged the standards of organization. The aggressors were those who spit on the flag, who waved the Viet Cong flag, who outwardly demeaned labor, and who vilified the National Guard in the Kent State incident.'

The man in organized labor understands the position of the tired, bleary eyed soldier under attack by a mob that hates. Labor, like the guard is organized and has always been under such attack.

I wonder if you really think your attacks are constructive, *Commonweal?* Sniping is poor journalism. It is debilitating to a once sound organ. You are either with labor or against it. Take your stand. If you let the blind Joe Hill lead you, you will both end in a pit—probably dug by union labor.

Neil Dolan

Reply

Mr. Dolan waxes long and indignantly upon a theme which has always been a source of legitimate discussion for both readers and editors of opinion journals, i.e., the use of anonymity when making political or social commentary within the pages of responsible publications.

Yet "Joe Hill" is not the first to make an appearance in *Commonweal* via the pseudonym, and should Mr. Dolan care to excoriate all publications which regularly employ the practice, then he might send duplicate copies of that part of his letter outlining his grievances to all the other periodicals involved, such as the *New Republic* ("TRB"), *National Review* ("Cato"), etc., etc. His arguments are just as relevant with them as with *Commonweal.*

While this will hardly be a satisfactory response to his sort of wit and sarcasm, it is the only one which can be offered in lieu of any change in a generally negative policy within government, industry, communications employers and voluntary organizations—most of whom discourage outside, independent social criticism or commentary by their people, even with the appropriate disclaimers that such opinion does not represent organizational or "official" policy.

Otherwise, for one so concerned with substance, Mr. Dolan offers only one specific objection from the three Joe Hill missives he mentions: that George Meany emerged from "the swamp of the New York building trades." Come now, Mr. Dolan, for such a sophisticate who is also hung up about Christ being in the workplace, you know of what we write. Anyone not familiar with the history of the "trades" in New York City when Mr. Meany held sway as president of the New York AFL can obtain an excellent word portrait from the pen of the most astute labor reporter of that period, Murray Kempton. Both of his books, *Part of Our Times* and *America Comes of Middle Age* supply enough documentation.

Joe Hill's critic speaks more to the point when he offers his analysis of the hard hat "demonstration." One wonders, however, why such defense of lead pipe action and middle-class obscenities ("screw the Fag Mayor") seems to be accompanied by alleged moral outrage and references to Christ the Worker. Incidentally, Joe Hill's only apology for "Labor's Split Political Personality" was the misspelling of Al Barkan's name, which was his and not *Commonweal's* error.

Joe Hill

(alive and well but not in Utah)

Illich As Prophet

Valyermo, Calif.

To the Editors: Cuernavaca's Dr. Ivan Illich, who resigned the hierarchical priesthood and the rank of monsignor last year because he wished to remain committed to CIDOC without public conjecture and fanfare, shows tremendous resolution in his letter to Pope Paul VI (Sept. 4), censuring the Holy Father for his continued silence about the horrendous crimes of the Brazilian dictatorship. In his letter Illich calls the Pope a prophet because of his office. Perhaps so, but Illich is a prophet because of his creativity as a man, and this is a rare, almost non-existent, commodity these days of governmental persecutions and wars.

To the labor within the Roman Church as Illich does so unflinchingly is credit for all those who remain within and say "no," and Illich's "no," a no that is humble, a no that is respectful, a no that is obedient, a no that is firm, a no that is public, is a complete act of faith in the Roman tradition, not as bureaucratic institution, but as Christian witness. The robotism that characterizes many of us, especially certain priests and bishops, is foreign to him. Illich is Paul telling Peter to his face Peter is wrong. Peter in all his papal pomp and majesty must listen . . .

J.J. Kaufmann

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I must act as a Christian
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the risks and burdens
and anguish
of those whose lives
were placed in the breach
by us
— Daniel Berrigan

The Trial of the Catonsville Nine
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